

2<sup>d</sup> 17 (3) 51  
CESARS Due,

AND

The Subjects Duty :

O R,

A PRESENT, for

C E S A R.

IN

A Sermon preach't in the Min-  
ster at *Yorke*, at the Assizes there hol-  
den Aug. 3. 1663. by way of Recan-  
tation of some Passages in a former Ser-  
mon Preached in the same place  
and Pulpit at the last Assi-  
zes immediately be-  
fore it.

Both of them

By Thomas Bradley, D. D. Prebendary of the  
Cathedrall & Metropolitall Church  
there, and Chaplain to his late Majesty  
of blessed Memory;  
Oxon' Exon'

YORKE, Printed by Alice Broade, 1663.

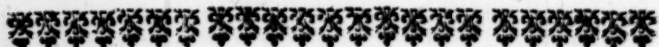


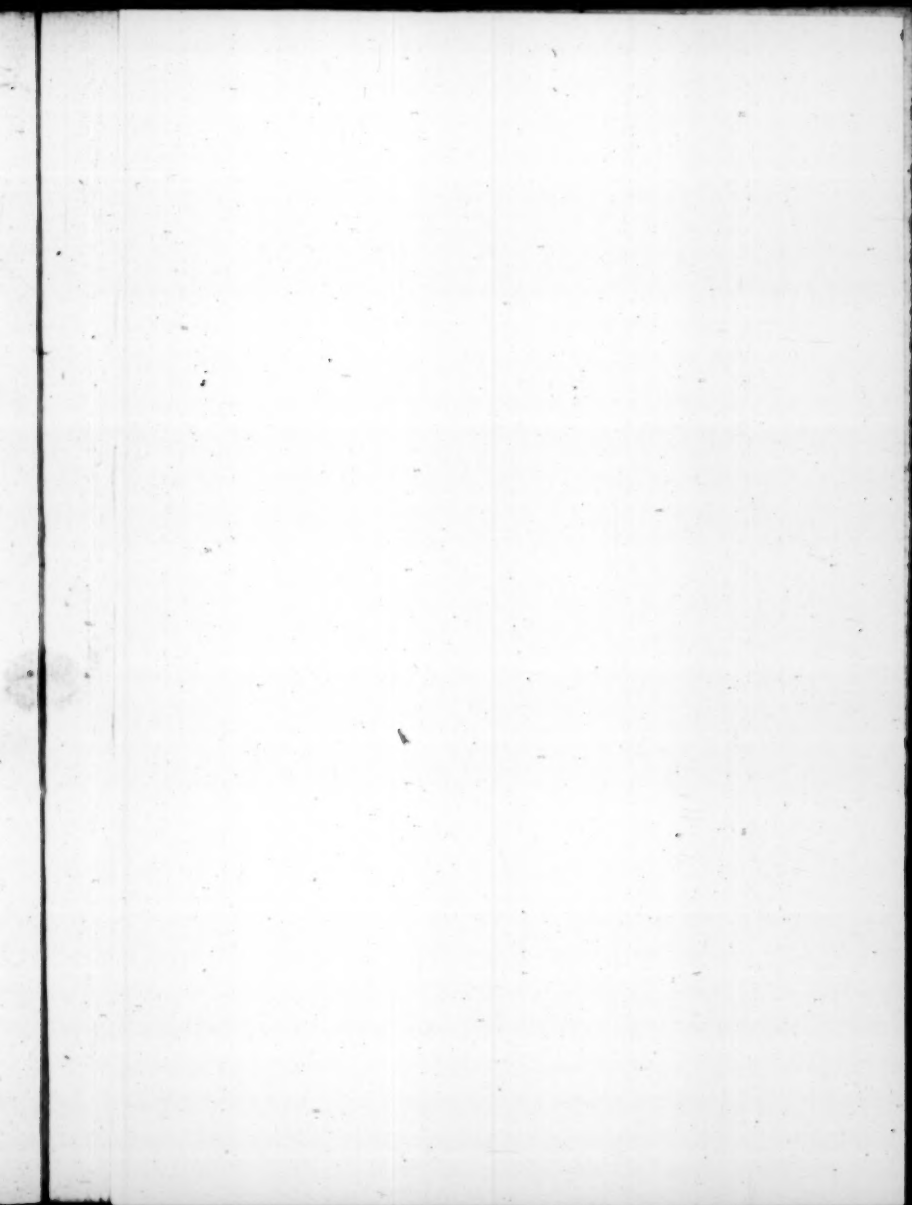
**C**oncionem hanc, cui Titulu, Cefars Due, and the  
Subjects Duty, *molliendis hominum Animis, Offen-*  
*ſaę, & deprecanda habitũ Eboraci à Rdo Viro Tho: Bradley*  
*S. T. P: legi, perlegi; & quia à ſummã ad imam uſq; ejus*  
*ebordam nihil uſpiam reperire eſt niſi quod eò plurimum faci-*  
*at, Typis proinde publicis mandandam cenſui*

Episcopo-Thorpæ  
Aug: II. 1663.



Edm: Diggle, S. T. P. Reveren-  
tiſſimo in Chriſto Patri ac Do-  
mini Domino Archiepiſc'. E-  
borac'. à ſacris domeſt'.



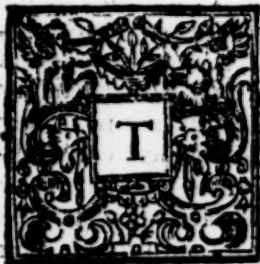






Mathew 22. 21.

*Give unto Cesar the things that are Cesars.*



Hese words are a cautious Answer to a captious Question proposed to our blessed Saviour by the Herodians, not so much for satisfaction, as for Cavill, that they might entrap him, and in-  
 snare him, and that in his Answer they might catch something from him, whereof they might accuse him unto *Cesar*. Four such Questions were there proposed to him in this Chapter by four severall Sects or sorts of people ; all which took their turnes to oppose him, and took place one of another, to dispute with him ; The Sadduces, the Pharises, the Scribes, and the Herodians. The first three of these he had easily shaken off, and gave them such full satisfying or convincing Answers that they had no heart to ask him any more Questions, *Mat. 46.* But now in the 4th place comes in the Herodian

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dian; and he charges most dangerously and desperately of all the rest, both in respect of the matter of his Question, and of the manner of proposing it. First, for the matter of it, all the other Questions were concerning matters of Religion; this matters of policy, and of State, and that in a point of high concernment, about *Cesar's* Revenue, the Tribute-money: As to the manner of proposing it, all the rest in plain down-right termes propose their Questions, but the Herodians doe more subtly to work; for first, to avoid all jealousie, and to prevent all suspition of their evill intentions towards him, they court him with a fair cōplement *Master*, ver: 16. Secondly, they give a large testimony of him for his wisdom & courage, sincerity & impartiality in teaching the wayes of God truly, and not regarding the person of Man, and to all this they themselves subscribe *Scimus*, We know it: And thus having by their hypocriticall flattery and dissembling Insinuations laid their traine, they give fire to it, and propose their *Quere*, *Licetne?* is it lawfull to give tribute to Cesar or not? But what an insidious Question was this? and how dangerous for him to answer to, what a horned *Dilemma* that push't both wayes, Answer which way he could; for had he resolv'd in the affirmative, *Licet*, it is lawfull, and you must pay it, then had he set the Pharises against him, which could not endure to hear of any such *Taxes* or *payments*: or had he resolv'd it in the negative *non licet*, it is not lawfull, and you need not pay it, then had he incurr'd the just displeasure of *Cesar*, and the Herodians, as an enemy to his Revenue; so

so that take it which way he would, he had a Wolfe by the ears, and guide as steadily as he could (on the one side or on the other) he was in danger to be bitten.

But in vain is the Nett spread before the eye of that which hath wing; full well did our Saviour see the fallacy, and the policie of this subtle Question, and discover the Asses ears under the Lyons skinne, and as wisely and warily did he shape his Answer, to avoid their snare, not by answering their Question, but by asking them another, unto which they could not answer him, but they must answer themselves too to the Question which they put to him, and condemne themselves for making a Question of it; *whose Image and superscription is this?* ver:20. as if he should say, you will all confesse that to your Cesar, your Soueraigne, there is a Tribute due from his Subjects, and you must acknowledge that he whose Image you do own upon your coyne, whose stamp upon it, and superscription or circumscription about it, makes it currant amongst you, is your Cesar, your Soueraigne, why then do you ask me this Question, to which (in this solution you have given to me) you have answered your selves? read your duty and Cesars due, not out of my answer to you but out of yours to me, and out of the Coyne which you carry about you, and out of the superscription upon it, or circumscription about it, that will tell you, that it is not only lawfull to pay it, but it is unlawfull not to pay it, and therefore *Reddi'e Cesari.*

*Give unto Cesar the things that are Cesars*

In which words here are three things offer'd to consideration.

1. The Person to whom this Tribute is due, and that is *Cesar*; *Give unto Cesar.*
2. The things that are to be given unto him, with his right unto them, they are his own; *The things that are Cesars.*
3. The manner after which they are to be given, and that is by way of rendition or returne; *redite*; render; thus *give unto Cesar the things that are Cesars*: And every one of these three parts carries its reason in it, enforcing the duty, and so binds it upon us as with a threefold cord, not easily broken.

Upon a review, every one of these branches divides it selfe into two, or hath two particulars included in it:

In the first, the person of *Cesar* is here offer'd to us; first to consider of Government in general, with the benefits the Subjects receive under it: and secondly more particularly of the *Cesarian* or *Monarchicall* Government in the Text the most perfect and absolute of all other.

In the second, the things that are *Cesars*; here are two things to be considered; first what things they are, secondly the right that he hath unto them, because the Text sayes they are his own; *the things that are Cesars.*

In the third we are to consider upon what account the Subject brings in *Cesars* due, and that's by way of returne; in the word *Redite*: And secondly after what manner they ought to be brought in, and that's freely in the word *give*, *Give* or *render unto Cesar the things that are Cesars*.

I begin with the first of them drawn from the consideration of the person to whom it is to be paid, and in him of Government at large, and the benefits that Subjects receive under it: For it is clear our Saviour mentions this as an Argument why they should pay Tribute to *Cesar*, because he was their *Cesar*, their Sovereigne, and under his Government they received many benefits; even the benefits of Government. What *Tertullius* the Oratour speaks to *Felix* the governour of *Cesarea*, *Acts* 24. 2. That may all Subjects in generall speak to and of their Sovereignes respectively, and upon the same grounds and reasons: *Forasmuch as by thee we enjoy much quietnesse, and many good things are done to our Nation by thy Providence, we acknowledge and accept it all-ways, and with all thankfulness, (most noble Cesar.)* It is by their care and providence under God, and by their faithfull and prudent Government of us, and executing judgement and justice in the Land, that we enjoy our peace, our plenty, our liberty, our property, our Religion, our all that we have; Take away Government from among us, and what will become of us, and of all these? which of us can say that any thing that he hath is his own, or secure himselfe of his life for one hour?

Oh bleſs God for Government, certainly the greateſt bleſſing that ever God ſent down from heaven to earth in temporall things, is the bleſſing of Government, it is the very ſtay of the world, the band that holds all together, which once being looſed, it is impoſſible but we ſhould fall all into heaps of confuſion, and be reduc't again into the firſt Chaos; and therefore among all the creatures in the world the wiſedome of Almighty God the high diſpoſer of all things, hath ſet and eſtabliſhed a Government: If you look into heaven, there is Government and order; we read of Angells, and Arch-Angells, and a glorious Hierachy in the Church Triumphant: if you look into Hell (the very emblem of confuſion) there is a Government; we read of a Prince of Devills: if we look into all the Creatures between them both, we ſhall find a kind of order and Government amongſt them; the fowles of the ayre have their Eagle, the beaſts of the earth their Lyon; the Fiſhes of the ſea their Whale; even amongſt thoſe feeble Creatures the *Setilia*, the Bees acknowledge a Maſter, the Graſhoppers have no King, yet goe they forth all by Bands, which ſhewes they have their Leaders: All Creatures in heaven, in earth, and under the Earth cry up Government and with one voice acknowledge it the Mother of their peace and joy. Therefore give unto Ceſar the things that are Ceſars, becauſe he is your Ceſar, your Sovereign; and for the good you receive under him, the benefits of Government.

But secondly, as Government in generall is necessary among all, so among all sorts and kinds of Government this in the Text, the Cefarian, or Monarchicall Government is the most perfect, the most absolute, and excellent above the rest. I will not here spend time to read amongst you a Lecture of Politiques, to shew the severall kinds and formes of Government wick are found amongst men, nor put them into the Ballance to weigh them, and to compare them one with another: there are but three principall sorts which stand in competition for preeminence, *Democracy*, *Aristocracy*, and *Monarchy*; among all which, Monarchy holds up its head above the rest, as the Cedar among the shrubbs, or as *Saul* among the rest of the common people, higher by the head and shoulders, and hath clearly the preeminence in five respects.

1. In respect of the Nobleneffe of it, it is the most noble forme of Government, and that which most neerly resembleth that whereby Almighty God governeth the World, and thats purely Monarchicall. What were all the Governments of the world to the four great Monarchies, the Assyrian, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman, under which the world was governed for the greatest part of the time since it was created; and whose fame hath drown'd all other Governments in comparison of them?

2. For the Antiquity of it, it is the most ancient of all other: It is a mistake in policy to imagine that Monarchicall Government sprang out of Politicall, as that our Oeconomical, and so was meerly founded upon the

consent and agreement of men only; whereas it owns God only for the Founder of it, and is as ancient as the world, or man upon earth: The first man that was in the world was a Monarch, and that not only over his own Family (which he was by a paternall Right) but over all the families of all the Generations which were in his time, which was little lesse then a thousand years. In *Abraham's* time we read of *Melchisedech* a King of *Salem*; *Moses* was a King in *Jesurun*; and *Job* (in all probabillity ancientser then *Moses*) was a King in the East, as the Ancients tell us; so that neither was *Nimrod* the first Monarch, (as some would have it) nor *Saul* the first King; (as others) there were Monarchs ancientser then them both; and before Democracy or Aristocracy were cast into formes of Government.

3. Monarchy is the most perfect forme of Government in respect of the unity that is in it; it is the great happinesse and safety too of a People when they all as one man are united together in one body: this was the happinesse of *Jerusalem*, *Psalm* 132 2, 3. *Jerusalem is a Citie that is at unity within it selfe*, and *Balaam* speaking of the many thousands of *Israell*, *Numb.* 23. speaks of them all as one man, *God brought him out of Egypt, he hath as it were the strength of an Unicorn: he shall couch down as a Lion, and as a great Lion, who shall rouse him up.* and in this language all along, he speaks of them in the singular number, *he, him, and his*, all singulars; and compares the whole body of them to some one Noble creature, a Lion, a Unicorn; all speaking their unity, which was their happinesse, their honour, and their safety too.

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But there is no forme of Government of that force to keep multitudes together in unity, as the Cesarian or Monarchicall government is, wherein so many thousands of people, of so many severall Nations, severall Languages, severall Religions, severall Customes, Callings, manners, interests, or howsoever different one from another: yet as the members of the naturall body (as different as they) united together under one head do concur to the making up of one beautifull body naturall; so all these united together under one Head and Monarch, *conveniunt in eodem tertio*, and concur to the making up of one body politique.

4. For strength Monarchy hath the preeminence, *vis unita fortior*; it cannot be but where power and authority are united in one, it must needs be of greater force and strength; then where it is divided and distributed amongst many; and the stream running down in one channell must needs be more forcible, deep, and strong, more impassable, and carry a deeper Vessel, then when it is divided into many smaller Rivulets: the Persians at the siege of *Babylon* found it so; and the sage old Father in his death-bed, perswading his sons to unity by the Emblem or Hieroglyphick of a faggot bound up and impregnable, and the same loosed, and the sticks taken out single, and so easily broken one by one, made them sensible of the strength and security that was in unity, and the weaknesse that was in division, exposing to danger of ruine and of being broken in pieces; even such is Monarchy in comparison of other formes of Government, as a mighty stream running down in one

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channell

channell, and they divided into many smaller currents: as a faggot strongly bound up not to be broken, and they as a faggot loosed and divided, and so more easily to be dealt withall.

Lastly, the Monarchicall Government is the most excellent and perfect forme of Government of all others, because it is most free from those inconveniences which they are all subject to, and with which they are usually ditterpered and disturbed. For *Aristocracy* the next unto it, how long will it continue free from the mischiefs of ambition, envy, and emulation? how apt are great spirits (with *Adonijah*) to exalt themselves, and grow impatient of rivalry? *through divisions in Reuben arise great thoughts of heart: Nec ferre potest Caesaris priorem, Pompeiusve parem: Caesar will endure no superiour, Pompey no equall:* and then the next is to make parties, to strengthen themselves, to accuse and impeach one another, to weaken their adversaries, that under these pretences they may carry on their own designs, and engage a whole Nation in their personall Quarrells, and embroile them in warr and blood to serve their ambitions. For *Democracy*, the ignoblest of all the rest, that placeth Sovereignty in the people; what a monstrous *Hydra* is it, *multorum capitum bellua*? how unconstant in their resolutions? how tumultuous in their elections? how tormented with divisions, and distracted with factions? what a low constitution at the best? allwayes fain to truckle under some neighbour Prince or other for protection, which at some time or other takes occasion and advantage from their divisions

to fall upon them, and to make a prey of them; the usual conclusion of most of them: besides, how continually subject to change? the most dangerous mischief in Government in the world. Democracy is very apt to degenerate into Anarchy, Aristocracy into Oligarchy, Oligarchy into Democracy again; and thus they are in a continuall rotation, whirling and wheeling about out of one forme into another, none of which changes are ever made without the expence of much blood & treasure to the danger of ruine of their whole State: and therefore the wise man advises not to meddle with them that are given to change, *Pro: 24. 21.* but marke it, in the same place he bids us fear the King, and from that Government never to desire to change: neither is it so subject to change as these other are, being the *apex* and the *summe*, the highest kind of Government, from which neither Prince nor People have any reason to change for any other; not the Prince, for higher he cannot go, and he hath no reason to desire to go lower; not the people of what degree or quality soever, because they cannot mend themselves, being where the meanest may have protection and the greatest account it their honour to be near unto him who is the fountain of honour, and never think much to submit to Sovereignty in a King, which to their Peers in Aristocracy they would not do, much lesse to their Inferiors in Democracy.

But how happy are we of this Nation in this respect, (if we could see our own happinesse) which have the Quintessence and whatsoever is excellent in all these united together in one the most happy Government that

live under, and thats *Monarchy limited by Law*; the best of Governments under the best of Kings, *CHARLES* the second. And this is a strong argument to perswade with us to *give unto Cesar the things that are Cesars*; And the first proposed, we now passe to the second, wherein we are to consider.

1. What those things are which we are to give unto *Cesar*.
2. What is his right unto them, because the Text sayes they are his, *the things that are Cesars*

And I will acquaint you with the latter of these first, with *Cesars* right to the things that are demanded of us, that he may demand them the more confidently, and we may bring them in the more willingly and freely. And a right you see he hath, the Scripture plainly speaks it, when it calls the Tribute and other dues, the things that are *Cesars*, and of this it is necessary we should be fully perswaded: It is a great mistake amongst men, yet generall amongst the vulgar, to thinke that whatsoever they part with to *Cesar*, comes meerly out of their own store of free gift, a meer Donative, a Gratuity, a Benevolence, that they might chuse whether they will pay or no, and so he meerly an Eleemosynary in the receiving of it; and therefore men usually pay their Tribute to the Prince, as they do their Tithes to the Priest, with an ill will, as imagining they pay them both upon the same score of free Benevolence; but in both equally mistaken: for first, as for Tithes, they are none of theirs, they are the Lords, as a Rent reserv'd out of their lands,

Lands, and he hath disposed them as he hath thought fit, that is to the Church, and to his Ministers: *Tithes are mine* saith the Lord, *and I have given them to the sons of Levi*: You may sell your Lands, but you cannot sell your Tithes; you may let your Land, but you may not let your Tithes; they are none of yours to let, they are the Priests: when therefore you pay your Tithes to the Priest, you pay no more then is his due, you give to the Priest the things that are the Priests. In like manner it is with your Tribute to the Prince when you pay Tribute to the Prince, you pay him no more then is his Due; you only *give unto Cesar the things that are Cessars*: it is not a matter arbitrary, whether you will pay it or no, but a matter necessary, you must pay it: it is not a courtesy, but a duty, not a gratuity, but a debt; St. Paul expressly calls it so, *Rom: 13. 7. 8.* To detain it therefore is a sin, not only against the Law of justice & gratitude, but against a Principle of common honesty, which commands us to give every man his own; and if every man then *Cesar* amongst the rest; and therefore *give unto Cesar the things that are Cessars*:

And there are three wayes by which *Cesar* comes to have a right unto those things which he requires of us, and so they become the things of *Cesar*.

1. Those things are *Cessars* which belong to him in the right of his Crown, and which are inseparably annexed unto it.
2. Those things are *Cessars* which the Law of God giveth unto *Cesar*.

3. Those things are *Cesars* which the Law of the Land giveth unto *Cesar*, and which by Act of Parliament are settled upon him; and all these are strong rights, and do give unto him an unquestionable Title to all those things that are by all or any of these wayes made his.

As to the first of these wayes, it were high presumption in me to undertake to give in an account which are his in the right of his Crown; such things there are, and they are great and many, which are flowers of the Crown, which no Subject may presume to touch much lesse to crop off, under pain of being guilty of an high Crime on taking away from *Cesar* things that are *Cesars*.

But secondly, those things are *Cesars*, which by the Law of God are given unto him, and they are great & many, the Question here moved is only concerning Tribute, *Shall we pay tribute to Cesar or not?* but the Answer is larger then the Question, and injoyns and includes not only Tribute, but all other dues whatsoever, the things that are *Cesars*. And there are six things which by the Law of God are clearly given to *Cesar*, first, Fear, 2. Honour, 3. Obedience, active and passive, 4. Defence, 5. Prayer, and 6. Tribute.

1. Fear, *Proverbs 24. 21. My Son fear thou the Lord and the King.*

2. Honour, *1 Pet: 2. 13. Fear God honour the King.*

3. Obedience, *Ecclesi: 8: 2. I counsel thee to obey the Kings command, and that because of the Oath of God.*

4. De-

4. Defence, *Pfal: 105. 15. Touch not mine anointed.*
5. Prayer, *1 Tim: 2. 1. I exhort therefore, first of all, that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men, especially for Kings.*
6. Tribute, as in the Text and Context.

These are all due unto *Cesar*, and that *jure divino*, by divine right, and thats the highest and the best right; and therefore if we fail in the payment of any of them, we are guilty of withholding from *Cesar* his Right, we do not pay unto *Cesar* the things that are *Cesars*. But because the question here moved is particularly concerning tribute the last of these six, and thats the very Subject of the dispute in the Text. 'tis fit I should more particularly speak to it; for be you well assured, that not for their sakes alone was this Question here ask't, nor for their satisfaction alone, was the resolution given to it, but for ours also, and for all Subjects in all places, and in all ages to the end of the world, (according to the severall Lawes, Customes & Usages under which they respectively live) who would be as ready to question the due of it as they here were. I shall therefore endeavour to shew, first, from authority of Scripture. 2ly. from the example and practice of former times. 3ly. by strong and unanswerable reasons, not only the justice & lawfullnesse, but the equity & reasonablenesse of paying Tribute unto *Cesar*.

And first for Scriptures, they are clear and plentifull *Rom. 13. 7. Render to every man his due, tribute to whom tribute belongeth: and in the 6 verse, For this cause pay we*

*tribute.* So there is a tribute to be paid, and there is a cause for it, which the Apostle there shewes at large. And of the four Evangelists, three of them have given this very charge, and in the same words, (an iteration not usual in the Scripture unlesse it be in some serious matter) which they would have well taught and learn't, *Matt: 22. 21. Marke 12. 17. Luke 20. 25. Rom: 13. 6, 7, 8.* *Solvite*, sayes one Text: *Redite*, sayes another: *Give*, sayes a third. *As a Debt*, sayes one: *As a due*, sayes another: *As his own*, sayes a third. Thus you have it from Scriptures clear, with line upon line, precept upon precept, commanded and enjoyned, and by the Authority thereof a Revenue settled upon *Cesar*.

Secondly for Examples, see *Solomon* the wisest of Kings, extraordinarily assisted by almighty God for the Government of his people; he had his publique Revenue, and great Tributes paid in unto him for the support of his Government and for this purpose he had his Officers to gather them in in all his Provinces, and over all the rest one great Officer of State to take their Audits and Accounts, his great Treasurer as you may call him, that was *Adoniram*, he was over the Tribute, *1 King 4. 6.* And after him *Rehoboam* his sonne, who was King in his stead, had the like Officer in the same trust, and that was *Adoram*, *1 King 12. 18.* he was over the Tribute. *Amaziah* levyed a Taxe, (*1 Chron: 25. 9.*) of 100 Talents: *Menahem* another (*2 Kings 15. 19. 20.*) of 1000 Talents of silver, a great Taxe of 50 shekeles a man. In *Augustus* time there was a new tax imposed upon  
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the People, and it was a great one; there came out a Decree that all the world should be taxed, that is, all that were under the Roman Empire, and these were extraordinary taxes (besides the standing Revenue) imposed by a new Decree upon occasion, and yet they were paid; where (in the last of them) the paines was more then the pay, for every one was to repair to his own Citie and Tribe that he belonged to to be taxed:

*Luke 2.* In our Saviours time we read of certain Officers appointed on purpose to gather up this Tribute-money among the Jews, they were called Publicanes, allwayes rank't with sinners, and on the right hand: but what do we speak of these? our Lord himselfe did not only by his command enjoin it, but by his example confirme and second it; himselfe paid tribute unto *Cesar*, *Mat. 17. 27.* what need we any further, witnesse?

Thirdly, As Scripture doth command it, and example confirme it, so reason doth perswade it, and strongly evince and demonstrate the equity and necessity of it; and I shall give you these five reasons of it.

1. The first is drawn from the consideration of his publique Office, his publique capacitie; you must not look upon *Cesar* as a meer man, but as a Magistrate, as a man cloathed with majesty, a King, a Sovereign, the head of the Tribes, a Collective person, in whom the many thousands of *Israell* are united and represented; as the Sunne in the firmament, which hath influence upon all; and all an interest in him; as the soul in the body which by the spirits, the cursitors of it, conveyes life,

and sense, and motion to all and every even the least Members of it; such is *Cesar* in his Dominions, as the Sunne in the firmament, and as the soul in and to the naturall body, so is he to the body politique. It is but reason that publique persons in publique capacities should be publiquely supported.

2. As *Cesar* is a publique person, so 'tis for the publique that he layes out himselfe and that which he receives, for the publique behoof, for the publique service, for the publique good; as to himselfe, what hath *Cesar* of all that is brought in more then will serve one man? he eats no more, he drinks no more, he wears no more; whatsoever is used about him more then will serve him as a man, is to be charg'd upon his Office, not upon his person, it is to be imputed to him as in his publique capacity, not as a Man, but as a Magistrate, a Prince, a Sovereign, to fit and enable him for the carrying on of the publique affairs, and for the managing of the Government, in which we are all concern'd; and so in effect it is laid out for our own use, not unto his, who hath only the trouble of disposing it for ours. All Rivers run into the Sea, yet the Sea is never the fuller, for what it receives in one place, it sends forth in another for the good of the whole Land; for part of it is exhald out of the sea by the warmth of the sunne-beames, and so conglomerated into clouds, which are carryed about by the wind like bottles in the ayre (as *Job* calls them) and so power'd down in showers to water the dry and thirsty earth, and part of it is sent and conveyed out of the Sea through the Cavernes of the earth

earth (as it were by pipes and conduits, and being defecated in the passage of it from the saltneſſe that was in it) iſſues and breaks out into ſprings and fountains, and is conveyed in rivers and ſtreams through the vallies of the Land for the comfort and reſreſhing both of man and beaſt, even ſo and no otherwiſe is it with the *Ceſar*, the Sovereign in his Dominions, if he receives with one hand, he diſtributes with the other; he receives to have, but not to hold it returns again in the bleſſings and benefits of Government, and therefore the detaining of it is a wrong not ſo much to him, as to the publiq; and to our ſelves involv'd in it. I have read ſome where of a mutiny that was raiſed by all the members of the body againſt the belly, *The members complained and murmured againſt the belly that it devour'd all and wrought none, the reſt of the members did their parts to work and bring in ſuſtenance, and when they had done ſo, the belly devour'd it, and ſtill was calling for more*; this they apprehended as a grievance, and for redreſſe in it (upon conſultation had about it) they reſolve and agree thenceforth to withhold from the belly the uſuall Alimony and nourishment which formerly they did afford it; but what was the iſſue of it? in withholding their contribution of the accuſtomed ſupply which formerly they did afford it, they did but puniſh themſelves; for ſoon after the face grew pale, the cheeks lean, the ſides thinne, the hands weak, the knees feeble, and the whole body waſted and in a conſumption: I need not apply it; ſay it is but a fable, every Fable hath its Morall, and ſo hath this. There is mention made in *Zach: 4.* of a myſticall viſion:

*Zacharie* sees there a golden Candlestick with a golden bowle on the top of it, seven Lamps burning in it, every Lampe had a golden Pipe belonging to it, which conveyed oyle to it: and on either side of it was an Olive-Tree to furnish the Pipes with a continuall supply of oyle, which they conveyed to the Lamps to keep them burning: there are many Interpretations of this vision, but sure this is plain enough for one, to shew that if you would have any light or benefit by the Lampes you must keep them burning; if you would continue burning, you must supply them with oyle: if you do either take away the Pipes or cut down the Trees which should supply them with oyle, the Lamps will burn but a while I leave to your selves the application of it. Certainly, if the supream Magistrate as a great burning & shining Light consume himselfe to give light to others, others have no reason to thinke much to supply him with oyle to keep him burning: and this is another reason why we should willingly & freely *give unto Cesar the things that are Cessars*

3. The third reason is taken from the consideration of the great charge that it requir'd for the managing of the Government of a Kingdome, and carrying it on with that honour and State that is but fitting and necessary: Government is a chargeable employment, there must be Navies abroad at Sea to secure the Coasts, and to keep us safe at home; there must be Armies abroad and at home too, to secure us from insurrections, rebellions and commotions; there must be Ambassadors sent abroad into forraign Kingdomes and States both ordinary and extraordinary, and there must be Ambassadors

sadours entertain'd from forraign parts to hold corre-  
 spondence with the Nations, and to gain intelligence;  
 there must be Courts of Justice and honourable Persons  
 sitting in them to minitter judgement and justice unto  
 the people; there must be great Officers of State to be  
 employed in the Publique affairs; there must be ho-  
 nourable provisions for the Houshold, with a Port and  
 Retinue becoming Majesty; Debts of the Kingdome  
 must be paid, publique engagements taken off, Soldi-  
 ers must be paid off their Arrears; Men and Armes, Am-  
 munition and moneys allwayes in a readinesse, and a  
 thousand things more which I cannot mention: all these  
 require full Treasuries; and whence shall all these sup-  
 plies arise? or whence should they arise? but out of  
 the publique Tribute; *Quis milita: propriis stipendis*; St.  
*Paul* thought it unreasonable that any Soldier should go  
 a warfare in the service of his King and Country at his  
 own charge; much more unreasonable & impossible is it  
 that any Prince should mannage the Publique Govern-  
 ment at his own charge: therefore give unto Cesar the  
 things that are Cessars.

4. The fourth reason perswading to this duty of  
 paying Tribute to Cesar, is taken from the consideration  
 of the great pains and care that is required in Govern-  
 ment, and which Cesar takes in the execution of his Of-  
 fice, & the discharge of that high Trust which God hath  
 committed unto him. We little know, and less consider  
 what carefull thoughts their heads are taken up with  
 night & day, that all may be well under their Govern-  
 ment and that their subjects may be preserved in peace

*safety : Splendorem videmus, curam & laborem non videmus*: we see the outward splendour & glory of Courts, and that dazles our eyes, but the inward cares, troubles and dangers that attend them in the execution of their great Office and high Trust, we see not: they often wake, when their subjects sleep; their thoughts are often troubled, when their subjects are quiet; they often in danger, when their subjects are secure, every one under his own vine, and his own fig-tree, eating the fruit of his own labours, when their carefull thoughts will neither suffer them to eat, nor drink, nor sleep in quiet that their Subjects may do so. Very sensible of these things was the Philosopher, when he said, *That if men did but know the cares, the trouble, and the dangers that lye within the circle of a Crown, they would not take it up to wear it*: and gravely *Erasmus, Miseros esse Principes si mala sua intelligant, miseros si non intelligant*: that among all conditions of men, Princes were miserable if they knew the evils that did attend them, and more miserable if they did not know them. Very significantly doth the Prophet *Isaiah* call Government a burthen, a burthen upon the shoulders, no light burthen, such as may be born with the hand, nor carried at arms-end, but such a burden as he must put under his shoulder to bear it: *Isa. 9.* where speaking of Christ in his Office of ruling the People, he saith, *The Government shall be upon his shoulders*: such is the condition of *Cesar*, the Sovereigne in his Kingdome and Dominions; he hath his load, the Government is upon his shoulders, we have no reason by our divisions and distractions to ailde more weight

unto it, but rather by our contributions every one to set our hand to it to make it lighter. It is a remarkable expression of the Prophet, which we read in the 78 *Psalme*, where giving testimony of King *David's* governing of Gods People, he saith thus, *He fed them with a faithfull and true heart, and guided them prudently with all his power.* where we see how many abilities are here met together to make a good Governour, here is *faithfulness*, and *truth*, and *tenderneſſe*, and *prudence*, and *power*, and all these strain'd up to the height to make him a good Ruler and Governour of Gods people; even so is it with all faithfull and religious Princes; they are fain to put forth all their power, prudence, wisdom, knowledge, skill, and experience, and the utmost of their abilities, and all little enough in the governing of their people: we may take a conjecture of this in the Government of some lesser Societies which we are better acquainted with, suppose it be but of a Colledge, a Corporation, or a Family; how hard a matter do we find it to governe them in peace, and to keep them in order? how much adoe have we to keep them from factions, and from divisions, and to hold them together in unity? and yet if the Supream Magistrate do not so by all our Families, and all the Societies consisting of them, and by all his people in all his Dominions to the satisfaction and contentation of all Parties howsoever distracted and divided among themselves, presently we are ready to fall foul upon the Government, and to thinke hardly of him that hath the managing of it. The Greeks have a very significant Proverbe amongst them,

and it speakes something to our purpose: *ἓς μὲν δούλος  
ἐν οἴκῳ ἑσπότης*: There is one great servant in a great family, and thats the Master; *scilicet exemplis in parvo  
grandibus uti*: if I may make such uneven Comparison,  
'tis true of great Princes in their Courts and Kingdomes  
aswell as in a Master in a private Family, they are call'd  
the great servants of State, and truly so they are (par-  
don the expression) and the greatest care and burden,  
the weight of all lyes upon them. Let this be a fourth  
reason why we should *render unto Cesar the things that  
are Cesar's*; the sense of the great burden that lyes upon  
him, the difficulty of Government, the danger he is  
expos'd to in the managing of it, the great pains and  
care that he takes to governe us with justice and to pre-  
serve us in peace: therefore *render unto Cesar the  
things that are Cesar's*.

Lastly, give unto *Cesar* the things that are *Cesar's* for  
the good we receive under and by his Government, the  
very word in the Text imports as much, and implies that  
consideration as the reason of the duty; *ἀποδοτε*, sayes  
the Greeke; *redite*, sayes the Latine, not *give*, but *ren-  
der* in both: but *rendering* presupposeth a receiving first,  
what we render we do but restore what was before de-  
livered to us; we do but returne with one hand, what  
we receiv'd with the other; therefore give to *Cesar*,  
because you receive from *Cesar* more then you give, and  
better then you give: and what is it that we receive  
from *Cesar*? it hath been already shew'd in part, in the  
beginning of this discourse; what do the sublunary bo-  
dies receive from the Sunne? what do the members of  
the

the naturall body receive from the soul that animates them? the same do the Subjects receive from their *Cesar*, who is as the Sunne in the firmament of his Kingdomes? and as the soul of the body politique of his Dominions. *Daniell* in his vision, *Dan. 4.* sets forth the benefits of Government under the emblem of a goodly Tree spreading forth his boughs and branches every way farre and near, even to the uttermost parts of the earth; the fowles of the ayre sit in the boughs and branches of it, and the beasts of the field, great and small lay under the shadow of it; he adds further that the Tree was full of fruit, and all Creatures fed upon it, and had sustenance from it: even so it is with a great Monarch in his Dominions, he is a universall good amongst his subjects, and the influences of his Government flow forth to the uttermost of his Dominions unto all sorts of people, Clergy and Laytie, great and small, as well as the smaller Birds that sit and sing upon the lower or outward branches where they can get footing, as to the greater fowles that sit upon the higher boughs & top-branches of it, as well to the smaller Cattell that quarter on the outsidcs, as to those more noble creatures, the Lyons, and Unicornes &c. which quarter nearer to the body of the Tree; they all receive from him both food and shadow, shelter and protection, countenance and maintenance and all, it is from the Tree, from the Monarch, inasmuch as it is by his means, by his care and pains in the wise managing of the Government and in executing judgment and justice amongst his Subjects that they do enjoy them, and are protected in them, as *Tertullus* ac-

knowledgeth, *Act 24. 2.* The Royall Prophet *David* was so sensible of this, that he seems in a manner to impute all that the Subject enjoyes to the King, as the royall fountain of Government and security, by which he streams it out and conveys it to them: In the *2 Sam. 1. 24.* where exhorting the daughters of *Israel* to mourn for *Saul*, their King now dead, he makes this his argument, because living he did so much for them, and they received such benefits from him, even to the very garments which they wore; *Ye daughters of Israel mourne for Saul, who clothed you in scarlet, with other delights; who put on ornaments of gold upon your apparel: how did Saul cloath them which he never saw, nor probably they him, but a few of them? but only thus, that under his prudent Government and protection of them, they with their Parents and Husbands thriv'd, and prosper'd, and grew rich, and were protected in the peaceable possession and enjoyment of what they had, which otherwise they could not have been secur'd in: and upon this account David imputes it unto Saul, that they enjoy'd all these precious things from him, as if he had freely given them unto them, as it were out of his own Ward-Robe and Jewell house: Ye daughters of Israel mourne for Saul, who clothed you in scarlet, with other delights; and put on Ornaments of gold upon your Apparell.* The case is the same, and the reason the same to all other Subjects under the government of their Sovereigns and *Cesars* respectively; and therefore in the same language will I apply it to all sorts of people among us, under a better Government then what was, and under a better King then *Saul* was.

Ye Daughters of *England* mourne for him that is gone, who cloathed you in scarlet, with other delights, and put on ornaments of gold upon your Apparell; but rejoyce in his living Image left behind, under whose happy Government and Protection you enjoy the like benefits, priviledges, and favours.

Ye Ladies, which like the Lillies of the field neither sow nor spin, yet *Solomon* in all his Royalty not cloath'd like one of you; remember who it is that cloaths you in scarlet, with other delights; that puts on ornaments of gold upon your apparell, with gemms, and jewells, pearls, and precious stones, with which you are so illustrious; be thankfull to him, glory in him, and rejoyce before him.

You noble Lords and great Ones, whom he hath taken near unto himselfe, and made Printes of the first List, in advancing you to Honours and Offices above others; remember who it is that cloath'd you with scarlet, with Robes and Ermins; who it is that put the Coronet upon your Heads, that put upon you the Collar and the Garter of Honour, and other Ensignes of greatness and of glory; be thankfull to him, glory in him, and rejoyce before him who is the fountain of honour, and by whom to be honoured is your highest glory.

You Right reverend & holy Bishops of the Church, the Chariots of *Israel* and the horse-men thereof, whose very Robes speak your Gravity, Innocence, and Purity; remember who it is that set the Mitre upon your Heads, that granted you your *CONGÉ DELIERS*, that cloathed you with Aaronicall Garments, garments

for beauty and for glory : be thankfull to him, glory in him, and rejoyce before him.

You Reverend and learned Judges of the Land, whose honour and Office is to administer judgement and justice unto the People ; remember who it is that cloathed you in scarlet, from whom you receive your honourable Commissions of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, and from whom you have your Authority delegated ; be thankfull to him, glory in him, and rejoyce before him.

You Reverend & learned Academicks, Doctors, and Dignitaries, who have attained the highest degrees of Schools in either of the Universities, many of the faculties ; remember who it is that hath cloathed you in scarlet, and who is otherwise your high Patron, and munificent Benefactor ; be thankfull to him, glory in him, and rejoyce before him.

*Es spes, & ratio studiorum in Cesare tantum.*

You rich Merchants, grave Citizens, honest and ingenious Countrey-men, all of all sorts ; remember from whom, and by whose means (under God) you do enjoy your peace, your plenty, your security, your protection, by whose care it is that the Ships sail in safety, that the shops are open with security, that the Plough goes in peace, that you reap your harvest quietly, and eat the fruits of your own labours ; and thinke not much to returne an acknowledgiment for these benefits ; do not grudge and grumble to pay Tribute to whom tribute is due, upon such valuable considerations ; and cheerfully render unto Cesar the things that are Cesars : which brings in the third part of the Text shewing the manner

after which they should be done, in the verb, *Give*, or *Render*.

That is, do it *freely*, do it *fully*, do it *timely*; As God, so the King loveth a chearful giver: disputes & delayes in these cases are interpreted denials, & *viscosa beneficia*, as the Philosopher calls them, benefits or gifts which hang like Birdlime upon the fingers of those that give them, as if they were loath to part with them, *ingrata sunt*, they lose their acceptance, and forfeit their reward; therefore give, and give freely; render and render readily, not as upon contraint, but as of a willing mind; and surely if this must be done to a *Tiberius*, to a *Nero*, how much more and more chearfully to a *Constantine*, to a *Theodosius*.

And here to stirre up all good Subjects to the ready performance of this duty, I intreat you to consider with me these four things.

First, In what state our *Cesar* found this Kingdome, when by Gods goodnesse he returned to it; the Exchequer empty, the Crowne Jewells & goods sold, yea the Crowne it selfe, with the Scepter, and Globe, and all the rich and precious things which his Royall Father and his Ancestors had stor'd up and preserved, of inestimable value made away; The ward-Robes plundered and rifled, the Plate and household-Stuffe in all his Majesties Pallaces taken away, yea the Pallaces themselves pulled down and ruin'd, and the very materialls of them sold; the Kingdome deeply in debt, in vast and incredible summs; a numerous Army of Horse and foot deeply in Arrears to be paid off; a great Navy at Sea,

farre more chargeable, then it to be discharged: to say nothing of his Majesties own Debts, for we cannot imagine that he could live by the ayre so long in forraigne parts; so that his condition at his returne was much like unto our Saviours when he was upon the earth, that *had scarce a place to lay his head, nor bread to put into it.*

Secondly, consider what great things he had to do, and in part yet hath; to set in order a tumultuous Kingdom, and a ruinous Church, both of them so miserably out of frame, that it is the work of an age to set them to rights again; to keep in pay great numbers of Horse and foot for Guards and Garisons, the restlesnesse of discontented people necessitating it; to pay off the Navy and the Armies, and the debts of the Kingdome; to build and to repair, and furnish anew his Majesties Royall Houses and Pallaces demolished, neither Crown, nor Scepter, nor Globe, nor Robes, nor Ward-robcs, nor Plate, nor Household-stuffe, nor any thing to speak on left, except he would buy it anew with his penny, nor so much as bare walls to bring them to untill he build them.

Thirdly, Consider his frugality since his returne, so far from wast and profusednesse in expences, that the very necessities are very slender; for his household provisions, if you should compare them with *Solomons*, you would wonder at the vast difference between them, in the *1 Kings 4*. We have the constitution of *Solomon's* house a List of his Officers, and of the Dyet and daily provision of his house, and this was his provision for one day, thirty measures of fine flour, and sixty measures of meal, ten fat Oxen out of the stall, and twenty out of

of the Pastures, a hundred sheep, besides Harts, and Roe-bucks, and fallow-Deer, and fatted fowle; if you compare these with the household of our present *Cesar*, you will wonder at the difference, and yet his Kingdomes and Dominions are far greater and of larger extent; but it seems his contribution and his Tributes are not so great. And take a conjecture of his frugality but in one instance more: Here have three of the blood-Royall (very near unto his Majesty) dyed since his Majesties coming in; the Funeral expences of all these three came not to the third part (I thinke I may say the thirteenth) of the expences of the funerall of the late Usurper.

Many other things might I alledge to bring on this duty with chearfullness & readines, his unparalleled sufferings, his invincible patience under them; his constancy in his religion against tryalls and temptations, not without much grace and strength to be resisted; his stupendious mercy shewed to his implacable and desperate enemies; his indulgence to tender Consciences; his studious endeavours to compose all differences, to satisfie all parties, if it were possible; never did any Prince study his Subjects as he hath done.

Fourthly and lastly, to crown all the rest, he brought with him an Olive-branch, the emblem of peace; hath put an end to our civill-warrs; hath broken our swords into mattocks, and our spears into pruning-hookes; hath restor'd our Religion, reviv'd the Lawes, setled the Courts of Justice; hath under God, and God by him, made good to us and to our Nation that gracious promise made to the people of God upon their returne:

*Iſa: 2. He hath turn'd his hand upon us, and purely purg'd away all our drosses, and taken away all our tinne, and restor'd our Judges as at the first, and our Councellours as at the beginning.* Great are the things which God hath already done for us by him, and great things we hope he hath yet by him to do for us; *hec si non moveant singula juncta movent:* All these things surely may be of great force with all good Subjects freely to give unto Cesar the things that are Cesars, and tribute to whom tribute belongeth; tribute of Subsidies, tribute of Customes, Tonnage and Poundage, tribute of First-fruits and Tenths, tribute of Taxe or Contribution, tribute of Confiscations (from which the Treasury hath its name *fiscus*; *Nehem: 10. 8.*) tribute of fines, tribute of Hearth-money, tribute of Excise.

And because this last is the tribute which is so much talk'd off, and so much trouble hath been about it, because of all other it is so much grumbled at, and comes in so hardly, and I my selfe have been complaind off for Preaching against it in this place and Pulpit at the last Assizes; it is very fit that in it I should more clearly and fully declare my selfe, and in discharge of that duty, I do here openly, clearly and confidently declare and assert, *that the Excise as it is here established in England, is (in the constitution of it) a Legall and just Revenue, and one of the Tributes here in the Text due unto Cesar:* and therefore if any man ask me as the Herodians did our Saviour in this Context, *Licetne?* is it lawfull to pay it or not? I answer as our Saviour did them; *Licet*, it is lawfull to pay it; it is utterly unlawfull not to pay it: there-

fore *Render unto Cesar the things that are Cessars*. And that you may do it chearfully and readily, without murmuring or disputing, I will give you in some reasons shewing not only the justice and lawfulness, but the equity and reasonableness of it; and they are these.

First, it is established by Law, and that silences all disputes, it is settled by Act of Parliament as a part of the Revenue; and therefore a right not to be questioned.

Secondly, As to his Majestie he is no gainer by it, he hath parted with a very honourable Revenue in lieu of it, to wit, *the Court of Wards*, one of the fairest flowers in the Crown, so fair, that the great Countessour, Lord Treasurer *Burliegh*, once Master of that Court, did in's death-bed advise Queen *Elizabeth* never to part with it out of her hands, for that it was an unknown Revenue, and one of her Majesties best Farmes; but howsoever that being taken away, and only this left in the room of it, if we should with-hold this too, what shall we leave him?

Thirdly, The third reason is taken from the consideration of the subject out of which the Excise doth arise, the commodity on which it is imposed, and thats strong-drinke, an element upon which there is more thrown away in vain expence, then upon any one thing, nay, may I not say upon all other Commodities in the Land; upon which, especially in great Townes, and by many other persons in many other places too, there is near as much thrown away in wast as would reasonably serve for all other necessaries, and in the excessive and intemperate use or rather abuse of which, there is more sinne

committed and occasioned in the Lend, then about any other thing whatsoever: if then the wisdom of the Parliament to take men off from this excessive and intemperate abuse of it and themselves, have laid such a legall charge upon it, who can judge but that it was an Act of *Wisdom* and *Prudence*, of *Piety* and *Religion* in them for the restraining of abuses.

Fourthly, The last reason is taken from the freedom that men have to take up the profession which makes them lyable to pay *Excise*, or not to take it up, to use it, or not to use it; there's no man compell'd to it, and if he like it not upon those termes upon which he is to be *Licensed* and admitted, he may let it alone, and there's no hurt done, if he like it not with the incumbrances, he may pass by it and leave it, and the *Excise* shall never trouble him: *Volenti non fit injuria*.

Upon all these reasons and considerations I conclude, That the *Excise* (in the constitution of it) is a just and a legall Revenue, that the imposition of it upon those commodities upon which it is laid, is no wrong to anyman: that not only by law, but in reason and equity, it may justly be demanded, and ought to be paid; and therefore I exhort and admonish all persons concern'd in it, not to dispute it, nor to quarrell it, but willingly and readily as in all other Tributes, so particularly in this of the *Excise* to *Render unto Cesar the things that are Cæsars*.

And so I have done with my Text, and now come to my taske; a taske enjoyned me here this day, and that's no lesse then a *Recantation* of some indiscreet passages, in a Sermon which I here preach't at the last Assizes in  
this

this place and Pulpit; the main Charge against me in it was, *That I preach't against the Excise, and Excise-Men,* it lyes in the 38 and 39 pages of the Booke, for it was since printed; the words then delivered I confesse were unadvisedly spoken, I was too sharpe in those expressions, and while I spake of and against Biters, I my selfe became a Biter. Another passage there is which is excepted against, and it is contain'd page 23. where my illguided zeale put me on too farr in pleading for the resurrection of a *Presidential-Court* in these Northern-parts; so farr, as to charge the *Westminsterian Lawyers,* *That they would engrosse all the law unto themselves, as if they meant to make of it, one great Monopoly;* these words were unadvisedly spoken, and I went too farr in that charge. Another passage there is, and that's found page 48. wherein I was very bitter against *Rack-renting Land-lords, and Depopulators;* ranking them amongst the Biters, and the Grinders in the Text: in this I confesse I went too farr, it was unadvisedly spoken, and gave offence, And indeed I am sorry that any thing should be spoken by me at any timewhich might justly give offence to any, even the least of little ones, much more that should offend Authority; and sure I am that intentionally I never did, nor ever will do so; yet seeing some passages in that Sermon have given such occasion of offence, I am heartily sorry for it, I wish they had not fallen from me, much more that they had not been Printed.

And these passages which have been by me here mentioned, I thinke fit to be retracted, and disowned;

particularly that wherein I say, *That the government of this Nation is Arbitrary in the male-Administration of the Excise*; which words, together with all other Indiscretions whatsoever contained in that Sermon and drop't either from my tongue or penne, I do here in the presence of you all, fully *retract, disclaime, and disowne*.

I will conclude with one word which his Majesty spake to me himselfe at the Councell-Table, and it was *close and home*, and did more silence me, then all that was spoke to me besides, and it was this;

*That his Majestie thought it was my duty to preach conscience unto the people, and not to meddle with State-affaires*: which words, as they were a severe reproofe for what was past, so they are a serious admonition for the time to come; and I shall most studiously, and exactly henceforth observe and obey it, and wish all others to do so too.

